

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-12 /091 W  
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O 092340Z JUN 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1925  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 02382

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: ADDITIONAL SWAPO RESPONSE TO WESTERN  
FIVE PROPOSAL

REF: USUN 2228

1. REFTEL NOTED NEWSPAPER REPORT THAT SWAPO WAS PREPARING  
A FURTHER RESPONSE TO THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL ON  
NAMIBIA AND THAT IT WOULD COME IN THE FORM OF A  
LENGTHY AND DETAILED DOCUMENT. THE BRITISH PROVIDED US  
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JUNE 9 WITH A COPY OF SECTION FOUR OF THAT DOCUMENT.  
THE SECTION IS ENTITLED "KASSINGA MASSACRE AND THE  
WESTERN FIVE"; THE PRECEDING THREE SECTIONS REPORTEDLY  
DEAL WITH THE KASSINGA ATTACK ITSELF. SECTION FOUR (TEXT  
CONTAINED PARA TWO BELOW) DOES NOT INCLUDE ANY SUBSTANTIVE  
ALTERATIONS OF SWAPO'S EXISTING POSITION ON THE  
PROPOSAL. CURIOUSLY SWAPO'S UN REPRESENTATIVE THEO-BEN

GURIRAB, IN CONVERSATION WITH AMB MCHENRY JUNE 9, STATED THAT HE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT THIS DOCUMENT, ALTHOUGH HE HAD READ REPORTS OF ITS EXISTENCE IN THE NEWSPAPERS, INCLUDING TODAY'S WASHINGTON POST. THE BRITISH UNDERSTAND THAT THE DOCUMENT IS TO BE RELEASED TO THE PUBLIC SHORTLY.  
END CONFIDENTIAL.  
BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED.

2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECTION FOUR:

BEGIN TEXT.

- KASSINGA MASSACRE AND THE WESTERN FIVE:

- THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME'S MASSACRE OF INNOCENT, NAMIBIAN REFUGEES AT KASSINGA NOT ONLY DEMONSTRATED SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST SADISM AND ITS INTENTIONS TO DESTROY SWAPO, BUT HAS FURTHER EXPOSED THE FALLACY IN THE CLAIM THAT SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE REGARDING THE NEGOTIATIONS INITIATED BY THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS (THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, FRANCE, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, AND CANADA). THE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS BY THESE COUNTRIES WERE OSTENSIBLY INITIATED TO PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA TO ACCEPT UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385 OF JANUARY 30TH, 1976, AND THEREBY ENABLE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ASSIST THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE TO ACHIEVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE.  
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- WHEN THE FIVE POWERS LAUNCHED THEIR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE LAST YEAR, MANY PEOPLE EXPECTED THAT BECAUSE OF THEIR CLOSE ECONOMIC COMMA POLITICAL, MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH RACIST SOUTH AFRICA, THE FIVE WOULD BE ABLE TO PUT MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON PRETORIA TO ACCEPT ALL THE PROVISIONS OF RESOLUTION 385. THE KEY PROVISIONS OF OF RESOLUTION 385 ARE THAT:

- (A) SOUTH AFRICA MUST WITHDRAW ITS ILLEGAL ADMINISTRATION, INCLUDING ITS ARMED FORCES, FROM NAMIBIA;

- (B) SOUTH AFRICA MUST RELEASE ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS;

- (C) SOUTH AFRICA MUST RESPECT NAMIBIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NATIONAL UNITY; AND

- (D) THERE MUST BE ELECTIONS UNDER UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL.

- BUT TO THIS POINT, 13 MONTHS AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THESE WELL-PUBLICIZED DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS, SOUTH

AFRICA HAS NOT RELEASED A SINGLE ONE OF THE MANY  
NAMIBIANS SHE HAS BEEN HOLDING FOR YEARS ON ROBBEN  
ISLAND AND OTHER JAILS. INSTEAD, SHE IS STILL  
CARRYING OUT WHOLESAL ARRESTS OF MANY MORE  
NAMIBIAN PATRIOTS AND MASSACRING THEM IN HUNDREDS.  
FURTHERMORE, SOUTH AFRICA SHOWS NO INTENTION OF WANTING  
TO RESPECT NAMIBIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NATIONAL  
UNITY. SHE PERSISTENTLY, AND IN CONTEMPT OF THE POSITION  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, REFUSES TO ABANDON HER  
COLONIAL CLAIM TO WALVIS BAY. SHE HAS ALSO BEEN BUSY  
SOWING THE SEEDS OF INTER-ETHNIC HOSTILITY AMONG THE  
NAMIBIAN PEOPLE IN AN EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT HER BANTUSTAN

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

POLICY. THE FIVE HAVE PLAYED DOWN THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED FORCES WHICH ARE THE CAUSE OF  
VIOLENCE IN OUR COUNTRY. IT IS THESE TROOPS, TAKING OFF  
FROM ILLEGAL BASES IN NAMIBIA, WHICH WERE USED TO COMMIT  
THE ATTROCITIES AT KASSINGA. NOT SURPRISING, THE FIVE

ARE NOW SAYING MASSACRES BY SOUTH AFRICA CAN BE AVOIDED.  
THEY ARE NOT SAYING THAT ALL THE FASCIST SOUTH AFRICAN  
TROOPS WHICH BUTCHERED NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AT KASSINGA SHOULD  
BE IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAWN FROM NAMIBIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH  
RESOLUTION 385.

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- WHAT ALL THIS SHOWS IS THAT THE FIVE HAVE FAILED  
TO PRESSURE THEIR CLIENT - SOUTH AFRICA - INTO ACCEPTING  
RESOLUTION 385. IN CREATING A FALSE IMPRESSION THAT  
THEIR DIPLOMATIC INTERVENTION HAS BROUGHT ABOUT  
SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARDS A PEACEFULLY NEGOTIATED  
SETTLEMENT TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM, THE FIVE ARE IN FACT  
BLOCKING THE WHOLE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FROM TAKING  
EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO FORCE APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA  
OUT OF NAMIBIA.

- THE FIVE HAVE DELIBERATELY CONCENTRATED THEIR  
EFFORTS ONLY ON THE PROVISION DEALING WITH ELECTIONS.  
THEY HAVE BEEN PAYING VERY LITTLE ATTENTION TO OTHER KEY  
PROVISIONS WHICH ARE THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR FREE,  
FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS.

- THE EFFECT THEY SEEK IS TO WATER DOWN RESOLUTION  
385 AS A WHOLE.

- THE FUNDAMENTAL FLOW IN THESE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS  
OF THE FIVE HAS BEEN THE ERRONEOUS ASSUMPTION THAT IT IS  
SWAPO THAT MUST BE PRESSURED, DIRECTLY OR THROUGH ITS  
FRIENDS, TO ACCEPT TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS WHICH  
WILL MERELY BE OBSERVED BY THE UN, BUT WHICH WILL IN  
TRUTH BE CONTROLLED BY SOUTH AFRICA. THIS ASSUMPTION  
IGNORES THE FACT THAT IT IS NOT SWAPO WHICH IS THE CAUSE  
OF THE PROBLEM. WHEN THE FIVE GO ROUND TELLING THE  
WORLD THAT IT IS SWAPO WHICH IS STANDING IN THE WAY OF  
A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, THEY ARE HIDING THE TRUTH. THE  
TRUTH IS THAT, BECAUSE OF THEIR VAST ECONOMIC TIES WITH  
RACIST SOUTH AFRICA, THE FIVE'S CAPACITY TO PRESSURE  
SOUTH AFRICA IS SERIOUSLY COMPROMISED. IN OTHER WORDS,  
THE VERY CLOSE TIES ON THE BASIS OF WHICH THE WORLD  
EXPRECTED THEM TO BE ABLE TO PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA IS IN  
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FACT A LIMITING FACTOR IN THE DIALECTIC OF COLONIALISM  
AND IMPERIALISM.

- SOME PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT BEEN CLOSELY FOLLOWING THE 13 MONTH-OLD TALKS BETWEEN THE FIVE AND SWAPO MAY ASK WHY SWAPO HAS MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE POSITION OF THE FIVE.
- THE PROPOSAL WHICH THE FIVE HAVE RECENTLY PUT BEFORE SWAPO AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS FINAL AND DEFINITIVE HAS A NUMBER OF FLAWS. IT GIVES SOUTH AFRICA EXTENSIVE POWERS TO CONTROL AND INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS TO NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE.
- FIRST, SOUTH AFRICA IS ACCORDING TO THE FIVE'S PROPOSAL, TO BE LEFT WITH ITS ENTRENCHED ADMINISTRATION OVER THE WHOLE COUNTRY. SECOND, SOUTH AFRICA IS TO BE ALLOWED TO HAVE ITS HUGE PARA-MILITARY POLICE FORCE INTACT AND IN CHARGE OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS. THIRD, SOUTH AFRICA IS TO BE ALLOWED TO HAVE 1,500 COMBAT TROOPS STRATEGICALLY POSITIONED AT GROOTFONTEIN AND/OR AT OSHIVELO IN THE NORTH/CENTRAL PART OF NAMIBIA. FOURTH, SOUTH AFRICA'S AGGRESSIVE CLAIM TO WALVIS BAY IS TACITLY CONCEDED BY THE FIVE, THEREBY ALLOWING HER TO HAVE MORE THAN A DIVISION OF ITS ARMED FORCES AT ROOIKOP IN THE WALVIS BAY AREA, IN ADDITION TO THE 1,500 AT GROOTFONTEIN.
- WITH ALL THESE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL AND PHYSICAL CONTROL THUS FIRMLY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN HANDS, THERE CAN BE NO ELECTIONS IN WHICH SWAPO CAN BE EXPECTED TO PARTICIPATE. LAST PARAGRAPH UNDERLINED. WITH ALL THE CARDS OF POLITICAL AND PHYSICAL POWER SO STACKED IN HER FAVOUR, PRETORIA WILL, MOST CERTAINLY, SEEK TO CREATE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL BE UNFAVOURABLE FOR SWAPO TO WIN THE ELECTIONS.

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- MOREOVER, THE FIVE HAVE FOUND IT FIT TO STIPULATE THE TYPES AND AMOUNT OF POWER WHICH SOUTH AFRICA WILL HAVE IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD. BUT THEY HAVE FLATLY

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REFUSED TO SPECIFY THE POWER AND SCOPE OF THE UN IN THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS. IN THIS REGARD, THE PROPOSAL OF THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS IS MAKRED BY DELIBERATE AMBIGUITIES INTENDED OBVIOUSLY TO APPEASE AND REASSURE SOUTH AFRICA THAT PRETORIA WILL BE IN A STRONGER POSITION THAN THE UN TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF THE PROPOSED TRANSITIONAL PROCESS. IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT SWAPO MAINTAINS THAT THE PROPOSAL OF THE FIVE CANNOT, IN ITS PRESENT FORM, BE REGARDED AS FINAL AND DEFINITIVE. SOME OF ITS PROVISIONS MUST BE RENEGOTIATED. LAST LINE UNDERLINED. WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THIS WHOLE DIPLOMATIC CONFIDENTIAL

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EXERCISE IS THE DESTINY OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE; AND, AS SUCH, THE FINAL AND DEFINITIVE WORD ABOUT THE PROPER PROCEDURE TO RESOLVE THIS COLONIAL CONFLICT MUST BE SAID BY THE 'NAMIBIANS THEMSELVES'. THEY ARE, AS THE RECENT KILLINGS IN NAMIBIA AND AT KASSINGA SHOW, THE VICTIMS OF SOUTH AFRICAN COLONIALISM AND RACIST BRUTALITY. END TEXT. YOUNG

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